

Message Text

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ARA-06 CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-06 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

NASA-01 NEA-09 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01

PRS-01 OES-03 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01 OMB-01 SAM-01

TRSE-00 BIB-01 /116 W

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P R 041715Z APR 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1034

INFO USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 1855

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, CSCE

SUBJECT: CBMS: NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

REF: (A) STATE 073831 (B) USNATO 1730

SUMMARY: ON APRIL 4, POLADS HAD INSTRUCTED BUT INCONCLUSIVE EXCHANGE ON DUTCH SUGGESTION OF TRANSFERRING SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS ON CBMS TO BRUSSELS. FRG STRONGLY FAVORED SUCH A COURSE. SEVERAL OTHER DELEGATIONS (DENMARK, UK, CANADA, TURKEY) ALSO FAVORED BRUSSELS/GENEVA DIVISION OF LABOR, WITH SOME REPS, HOWEVER, INDICATING THEIR AUTHORITIES WOULD GO ALONG WITH MAJORITY VIEWS. THERE WAS SOME SENTIMENT (CANADA AND UK) IN FAVOR OF JOINT MEETING IN BRUSSELS OF THE GENEVA NATO CBMS EXPERTS WITH POLADS. U.S. WAS JOINED BY GREECE AND PORTUGAL IN FAVOR OF KEEPING THE ACTION IN GENEVA. POLADS ALSO DISCUSSED DUTCH QUESTIONS (REF B) ON SOVIET "VOLUNTARY BASIS" PROPOSAL. POLADS WILL RETURN TO CBMS AT APRIL 11 MEETING. END SUMMARY. CONFIDENTIAL

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1. RESPONDING TO THE MARCH 26 NETHERLANDS INITIATIVE TO TRANSFER ALLIANCE COORDINATION ON SUBSTANTIVE ASPECTS OF MANEUVERS CBM TO NATO HEADQUARTERS FROM GENEVA, TURKISH REP (ERALP) SAID HIS AUTHORITIES FAVORED SUCH AN APPROACH. HE ADDED, HOWEVER,

THAT IF A MAJORITY FAVORED KEEPING ALL THE ACTION IN GENEVA, ANKARA WOULD GO ALONG. DANISH REP (VILLADSEN) EXPRESSED SIMILAR VIEW. DRAWING ON INSTRUCTIONS (REF A), U.S. REP (LEDOGAR) REITERATED U.S. VIEW THAT ALLIES DISCUSSIONS ON MANEUVER CBM CONTINUE TO MOVE FORWARD IN NATO CAUCUS IN GENEVA. GREEK REP (MALLIKOURTIS) SUPPORTED U.S. POSITION ON INSTRUCTIONS, AS DID PORTUGUESE REP (DE MACEDO) ON PERSONAL BASIS.

2. UK REP (SINTON) SAID HIS AUTHORITIES WOULD AGREE TO HOLDING SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS IN BRUSSELS, BUT A DECISION ON THIS WOULD BE INFLUENCED BY THE RESULTS OF GENEVA NATO CAUCUS MEETINGS THIS WEEK. CANADIAN REP (FOWELL) SAID OTTAWA PREFERRED GENEVA/BRUSSELS DIVISION OF LABOR. HE REFERRED FAVORABLY TO AN EARLIER SUGGESTION BY THE UK REP IN GENEVA ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF HOLDING A JOINT POLADS/ NATO CAUCUS CBMS EXPERTS MEETING IN BRUSSELS.

3. FRG REP (HOYNCK) SAID IT WAS IMPORTANT AND URGENT THAT ALLIES BEGIN DEFINING A SUBSTANTIVE POSITION ON MANEUVERS PARAMETERS. SUCH WORK, HE FELT, SHOULD TAKE PLACE IN BRUSSELS. FRENCH REP (BEAUCHATAUD) REJOINED THAT ALLIES ALREADY HAVE A POSITION ON MANEUVER PARAMETERS WHICH WAS WORKED OUT BY POLADS LAST AUTUMN. BEAUCHATAUD THOUGHT IT PREMATURE AT THIS POINT TO REOPEN THE ALLIED POSITION ON PARAMETERS. THE LUXEMBOURG REP (HOSTERT), WHO WAS WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS, SAID HE COULD SEE MERIT IN EITHER KEEPING ALL ALLIANCE CBMS WORK IN GENEVA, OR INDISCUSSING SUBSTANCE IN BRUSSELS.

4. CHAIRMAN (KILLHAM) SAID IT WAS OBVIOUS NO CONSENSUS EXISTED ON GENEVA VERSUS BRUSSELS AND SUGGESTED THAT POLADS RETURN TO THIS ISSUE AT THEIR APRIL 11 MEETING.

5. IN DISCUSSION OF MARCH 26 DUTCH QUESTIONS RE SOVIET "VOLUNTARY BASIS", NETHERLANDS REP (DE RYCK) READ FROM FOLLOWING SPEAKING NOTES:

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BEGIN TEXT

-MENTIONING OF THE WORD "VOLUNTARYZZ IN CONNECTION WITH THE NOTIFICATION OF MANOEUVRES, AS REQUESTED BY THE SOVIET UNION, WOULD FORM A SUBSTANTIAL CONCESSION BY THE WESTERN AND NEUTRAL SIDE.

-THIS CONCESSION WOULD ONLY BE JUSTIFIED IF MATCHED BY A CLEAR EASTERN CONCESSION ON THE MATTER OF PARAMETERS, NOTABLY THE TERRITORIAL PARAMETERS.

- IN VIEW OF EARLIER POOR EXPERIENCE WITH THE SOVIET UNION IN CSCE SUCH A CONCESSION SHOULD NOT BE MADE BEFOREHAND, AS THE SOVIETS HAVE REQUESTED, NOR SHOULD THE DISCUSSION BE BASED ON

IT. THE SOVIET UNION SHOULD RATHER BE INVITED TO MAKE SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING A PACKAGE DEAL IN WHICH COULD BE INCLUDED -IF THEY WISH SO-THE VOLUNTARY BASIS OF NOTIFICATION AS WELL AS THE PARAMETERS THAT THEY ARE WILLING TO ACCEPT IN CONNECTION THEREWITH.

- A FINAL NATO DECISION SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN UNTIL IT HAS BEEN ASCERTAINED THAT SUCH A DECISION IS ACCEPTABLE TO THE NEUTRAL COUNTRIES. THIS IN ORDER TO AVOID ANY IMPRESSION THAT THE WEST IS LOOKING FOR A DEAL WITH THE WARSAW PACT MINUS ROUMANIA AND EXCLUDING THE NEUTRALS.

- IT SHOULD BE AVOIDED THAT OBLIGATIONS ALREADY ACCEPTED BY THE SOVIET UNION(MANOEUVRES WITHIN 100 KM OF THE FRONTIER) WILL BE INCLUDED TOO IN A POSSIBLE BOLUNTARY REGIME.

END TEXT

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PRS-01 OES-03 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01 OMB-01 SAM-01

TRSE-00 BIB-01 /116 W

----- 123318

P R 041715Z APR 75

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 1855

6. DANISH REP SAID COPENHAGEN HAS ALWAYS HELD THAT CBMS WOULD INVOLVE A POLITICAL AND MORAL OBLIGATION. IF THIS OBLIGATION IS CLEARLY DEFINED, A MANEUVERS CBM ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS COULD BE ACCEPTABLE. IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO PROBE THE SOVIET POSITION FURTHER BEFORE ANSWERING THE QUESTION OF AT WHAT STAGE THE ALLIES SHOULD INDICATE TO THE SOVIETS THAT THE "VOLUNTARY BASIS" PROPOSAL WAS ACCEPTABLE.

7. UK REP SAID LONDON WAS READY TO ACCEPT "VOLUNTARY BASIS" IN PRINCIPLE IF THE SOVIETS PROVIDED A SATISFACTORY

DEFINITION OF THE TERM. HE ADDED THAT THE VOLUNTARY BASIS WOULD NEED TO BE SUPPLEMENTED BY "SUITABLY ROBUST" PARAMETERS FOR NOTIFICATION.

8. FRG REP REMARKED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD EXPLOIT THE SOVIET OFFER AS A MEANS OF GETTING SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS UNDER WAY. THE ALLIES SHOULD, HOWEVER, NOT ACCEPT "VOLUNTARY BASIS" UNTIL THERE EXISTED A FIRM ALLIANCE POSITION ON THE MEANING OF THIS CONCEPT. IT WAS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT, IN FRG REP'S VIEW, THAT THE NEGOTIATING INITIATIVE NOT BE LEFT CONFIDENTIAL

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TO THE SOVIETS. THE QUESTION OF WHEN TO RESPOND TO THE SOVIET PROPOSAL WAS A TACTICAL ISSUE WHICH SHOULD BE DECIDED AFTER THE ALLIES HAD WORKED OUT THEIR SUBSTANTIVE POSITION. HE NOTED BONN WAS CURRENTLY THINKING IN TERMS OF A FORMULATION INVOLVING "FIRM INTENTION" RATHER THAN "VOLUNTARY BASIS", BUT ADDED THIS WAS NOT YET A FIRM FRG POSITION.

9. NORWEGIAN REP (SKEIE) SAID HIS AUTHORITIES IN PRINCIPLE HAD A POSITIVE REACTION TO THE SOVIET PROPOSAL, BUT INSISTED ON THE NEED TO PROBE MOSCOW'S INTENTIONS BEFORE GIVING THE IMPRESSION THAT THE ALLIES AGREED TO THE SOVIET PROPOSAL. THE ALLIES SHOULD TRY TO OBTAIN THE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE SOVIET CONCESSIONS ON PARAMETERS BEFORE DECIDING ON WHETHER TO ACCEPT THE "VOLUNTARY BASIS" PROPOSAL.

10. THE ALLIES REPS AGREED TO RETURN TO THIS SUBJECT AT AN APRIL 11 POLADS MEETING.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 18 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 04 APR 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: MartinML
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975NATO01855
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: NATO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t197504101/abbrzjem.tel
Line Count: 197
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: n/a
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: (A) STATE 073831 (B) USNATO 1730
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: MartinML
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <16 APR 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <17 SEP 2003 by MartinML>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CBMS: NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS
TAGS: PFOR, NATO, CSCE
To: STATE INFO GENEVA
MOSCOW
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006